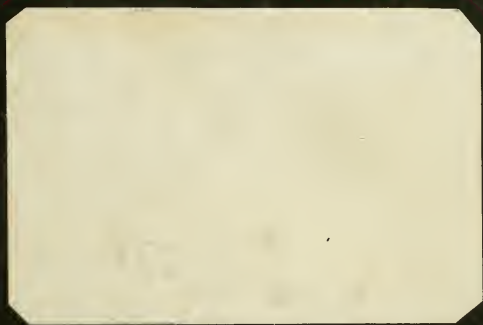


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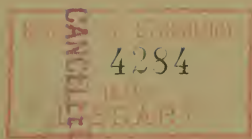
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1638-1888

THE HISTORIC FORCES WHICH GAVE  
RISE TO PURITANISM

AN ADDRESS BY WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY









THE HISTORIC FORCES WHICH  
GAVE RISE TO PURITANISM.



# AN ADDRESS

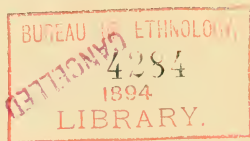
ON THE OCCASION OF THE

## 250th Anniversary

OF THE SETTLEMENT OF

## New Haven

APRIL 25th, 1888



*Delivered in the Center Church, before the Congregational Club, April 23d.*

By WILLIAM L. KINGSLEY



NEW HAVEN  
1888.

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NOTE.—Some pages of this Address were omitted, in consequence  
of its length, at the time of delivery.

BY TRANSFER  
BUREAU OF AMER. ETHNOLOGY

SEP 22 1939



## ADDRESS.

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OVER the principal entrance to this church an inscription was placed, not many years ago, by one\* who will long be remembered here with affection, which records the fact that “a company of English Christians, led by John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, were the founders of New Haven,” and that “here they built their first house of worship.” Underneath this church, where we are now gathered, reposes their dust ; yet their blood is still throbbing in the veins of the men and women who are around us. On the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of that company of English Christians on these shores, we cannot but direct our thoughts to them. The impress of what they did is upon all about us. Even these streets, this Green, so much more spacious and convenient than anything which had been planned on this continent before their time, bear testimony to the enlightened views which they had of what a city should be. Even we ourselves, our conceptions of life, our tastes, our very prejudices, are the result, in no small degree, of ideas of right and of duty which led them to brave the sea and all the dangers of an unknown wilderness. To-day that company of English Christians,—the forefathers of this town,—walk these streets once more. There is no one so thoughtless, who has not asked

\* Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.

himself what manner of men they were. There is no one so well acquainted with their history who will not find that a new consideration of what it was that they undertook to do, and of the results which they accomplished, will serve as an ennobling force to give him fresh inspiration for his own narrower round of duty.

But the story of what that company of English Christians did has been so often told, that I shall not attempt to tell it over again. It has seemed to me that it might better serve the purpose of this hour, and enable us to get a more lifelike conception of the personality of the founders of our town, if I were to recall to your minds what were some of the historic forces which made them what they were. The age which gave them birth was not isolated from those which preceded it. The ages are all interlocked. That which precedes always prepares the way for that which succeeds. Their age was the legitimate outcome of the ages which had gone before, as our age has felt the shaping influences and is the product of the age in which they lived. They were as truly the children of their past as we are of our past. Bear with me then, if I ask you to go back with me for a few moments to a period as far before them as the period of their settlement of New Haven is before us. Such a consideration of some of the historic forces which made them what they were may not be without its value.

If we thus go back two hundred and fifty years before the founding of New Haven, we come to the fourteenth century. I will remind you that this was long before the discovery of America by Columbus. The nations of the continent of Europe had hardly emerged from the chaos of feudal warfare. The great nobles had still so much power that they were the rivals even of their sovereigns, and were ever combining

against them or against each other, whenever ambition or some fancied grievance tempted them. The Church too had lost much of the power of a living faith. The ecclesiastical dignitaries had become, to a great extent, as mundane and as ambitious as the nobles. A large part of them had given themselves up to a life of self-indulgence. The gluttony of the monks was proverbial. St. Bernard, centuries before, complained that there were bishops who had so many different kinds of wine on their tables that it was impossible even so much as to taste the half of them. We read of the monks in a certain monastery who complained of their abbot because he had reduced their ordinary dinners from sixteen to thirteen dishes. As for the laity, there was no independent thought among them, no independent action.

But things had begun everywhere to take an upward tendency. The commercial activity, started by the Crusades, had served to break down many of the barriers which had separated the people of different countries. The cities which had their rise in the twelfth century had acquired franchises and privileges, and the burghers had learned many lessons in freedom. Universities had been established, and though the learned doctors who had been trained in them expended their strength in the unprofitable word-splittings of the scholastic philosophy, yet learning was preserved, and the intellects of an ever increasing multitude of students were sharpened into activity. The Christian Church also, so democratic in its organization, which through the Middle Ages had been the protector of the weak against the strong, still, notwithstanding its degeneracy, preached the doctrines of kindness and charity, and was an ever present protest against the excesses of strife and violence.

England, at the period to which we have gone back, was in many respects one of the least important of the States of

Europe. In population it was far inferior. The mass of its inhabitants were occupied with the cultivation of the soil. The national wealth consisted in flocks, and herds, and the harvest of the year. Credit was unknown. To be sure, English sailors from the Cinque Ports had made themselves at home on the sea. A few manufactures were carried on, though they were of the rudest kind. But compared with the nations of Southern Europe, or with those great cities which were growing up in the Low Countries and in Italy, England held a very inconsiderable position.

Its inhabitants were a coarse and even a brutal people. The grandees of the royal and imperial courts of Italy and of Constantinople, the merchant princes of Venice, of Genoa, of Pisa, of Bruges, and of Antwerp, looked on them as little better than barbarians. They were thoroughly rude and uncultivated. The stock from which they had originally come was a coarse one. No one of the savage tribes which had overrun the Roman Empire was more fierce or more cruel than those Saxons, and Angles, and Jutes, and Frisians, who had come over from their primeval forests to ravage and butcher, and finally to settle themselves in that foggy island, which was naturally only a little more habitable than their own muddy swamps in Jutland. Mr. Taine has described them in language which it may be worth while to repeat: "Huge white bodies, cold blooded, with fierce blue eyes, reddish flaxen hair, ravenous stomachs, filled with meat and cheese; of a cold temperament, prone to brutal drunkenness! Pirates! They had found that of all kinds of hunting, the man-hunt was the most profitable and the most noble! From that moment, sea-faring, war, and pillage became their ideal of a freeman's work. So they left the care of their land and flocks to the women, and in wretched boats of hide dashed to sea in their two sailed barks, and landed anywhere; killed everything; and having sacrificed in honor of Odin and Thor the tithe of their prisoners, and



leaving behind them the red light of their burnings, went further on to begin again. ‘Lord,’—says a certain litany—‘deliver us from the fury of the Jutes!’ Of all barbarians, they were the strongest of body, the most formidable, and the most cruelly ferocious.” For centuries the descendants of these vikings had fought with the Britons, and fought with each other, and there had been little to elevate or refine them. In due time, they had accepted the Christian religion, and they had made some considerable advances towards civilization; but a state of things still existed among them in the fourteenth century which to us at the present day seems little better than anarchy. It was the period of the “hundred years war” waged in France by the English kings for the possession of the throne of that country. During that war, English soldiers had become accustomed to deeds of outrage, and had been trained to the work of plunder, in all its various forms,—the pillage of farm houses, the sack of cities, the ransom of captives! The feeling common among them was expressed by the soldier who exclaimed: “If God had been a soldier nowadays, he would have been a marauder!” It is not surprising that on the return of these men to England, lawlessness and brutality reigned without check. The historian Green says of this period, that houses were sacked, judges were overawed or driven from the bench, peaceful men were hewn down by assassins or plundered by armed bands, women were carried off to forced marriages, elections were controlled by brute force, parliaments were degraded into camps of armed retainers. Hume says, “No subject could trust to the laws for protection. Men openly associated themselves, under the patronage of some great baron, for their mutual defence. They wore public badges, by which their confederacy was distinguished. They supported each other in all quarrels, iniquities, extortions, murders, robberies, and other crimes. Their chief was more their sovereign than the king himself.

There was perpetual turbulence, disorder, and faction." Jessopp, an English antiquary, says: "If a man had a claim on another for a debt, or a piece of land, or a right which was denied him, or even if he thought he had, he found no difficulty in getting together a score or two of ruffians to back him in taking the law into his own hands." The books are full of the stories of outrage and savagery, that were constantly occurring. The villain who had run away from his lord and become an outlaw, the broken soldier returning penniless from the wars, found shelter and wages in the homes of the greater barons, and furnished them with a force ready at any moment for violence or strife. It was the recognized custom of the time. It was even reduced to a system, and was known by the name of "maintenance." England was divided into numberless hostile camps. The state of things was little better than that of an armed truce. Every one was attached to some one of the warring factions, and these might come to blows any day on the slightest provocation. The yeomen and even the lords of the manor everywhere put on the livery of some powerful baron in order to be able to secure aid and patronage in any fray or suit in which they might be engaged. Mr. Green says that, even in Parliament itself, "the White Rose of the house of York, the Red Rose of the house of Lancaster, the port-cullis of the Beauforts, the pied bull of the Nevils, the bear and ragged staff of the Beauchamps, were seen on hundreds of breasts."

In further illustration of the condition of things in England at this time, Dr. Jessopp says that in a small parish in Norfolk a certain John de la Wade got together a band of men, invaded the manor of Hamon de Cleure, seized the grain, threshed it, cut down the timber, and carried off the whole. He then describes at length two other cases of a precisely similar kind which happened the same year in the same parish. He tells us also that two gentlemen of position went with

twenty-five of their retainers to the Hall at Little Barningham, where lived an old lady, Petronilla de Gros, set fire to the house in five places, dragged the old lady out with brutal violence, and so worked upon her fears as to compel her to tell them where were her jewels and money. In another little parish, which he describes, he says the catalogue of crime for the year is so ghastly,—I use his own words,—“as positively to stagger one.” I will not take any account of the minor offenses which, as he says, were brought to trial before the courts, or give the details of the worst crimes which he describes; but he says that, in that small parish, in one year, eight men and four women were murdered, and that there were besides five fatal fights.

The degree of civilization to which the people of England had then attained can be estimated from the way in which they lived. Dr. Jessopp tells us that the greater part of the people lived in houses which were no better than what we should call hovels. They were covered with turf, and sometimes with thatch. None of them had chimneys. They had not even windows. The hole in the roof which let out the smoke rendered windows unnecessary. Even in the houses of the nobility, windows were rare. Oiled linen cloth served to admit a feeble semblance of light and keep out the rain. In the houses of the laborers, the fire was in the middle, and around it the laborer and his wife and children huddled. Going to bed meant flinging themselves down on the straw, as now in a gypsy's tent. Dr. Jessopp says that the food of the majority of the people of England was of the coarsest description. The poor man's loaf was black as mud and as tough as shoe leather. In the winter time, turf was burned; but the horse and sheep and cattle were half starved for at least four months in the year, and one and all were much smaller than they are now. There were no potatoes, and the absence of vegetables for the greater part of the year, together with the

utter disregard of all hygienic laws, made diseases of all kinds frightfully common. As for the laborer's dress, it was a single garment, a kind of tunic leaving the arms and legs bare, with a girdle of rope or leather tied round the waist, in which a knife was stuck to use sometimes in hacking his bread, sometimes for stabbing an enemy in a quarrel.

Dr. Jessopp adds that if the houses of the laborers were squalid, and dirty, and dark, the homes of the employers of labor were not much better. In the homes of the nobles and of the gentry, and in some of the more richly endowed of the monasteries, there might be more provision for comfort ; but, even centuries later, fresh straw was laid down daily in the palace of the king. Coarseness and want of refinement characterized the gentry and the nobles. Their ignorance was great. Their tastes were low. Anthony Wood, the historian of the University of Oxford, tells a story of a baron of that day at whose castle two students presented themselves and sought an introduction by sending in their academical credentials, in which, among other accomplishments, they were described as gifted with a poetical vein. But so far was the baron disposed to treat them with the slightest respect, that he ordered that they should be put in two buckets over a well and be dipped alternately into the water until each should produce a couplet on his awkward situation. The historian says that it was not till after a considerable number of duckings that the unfortunate students finished the rhymes, while the baron and his retainers stood around during the process of concoction, and made themselves merry over these involuntary ascents and descents.

I have carried you back with me in English history just about as far before the time of the landing on these shores of the founders of this town, as the period of their landing is

before this anniversary occasion. I have done this because in order to form any adequate conception of what they and the other men of the seventeenth century were, it is necessary to understand what the men of England were who preceded them in the fourteenth century. Just as to have any proper appreciation of the sun in its early dawn, while it is still struggling with the mists of morning and its rays are obscured and the air is damp and chill, it is necessary to go back, in thought at least, to the thick darkness that one short hour before covered all. It would seem as if it were hardly necessary to remind you that, according to the unalterable laws of nature, the dawn with all its incompleteness must ever precede the day. Yet there have always been, and always will be, sentimental people, who dissatisfied with the dull routine of their lives, will delight to deceive themselves, and will plaintively sigh for the good old days, and imagine that, at some remote period in the past, there was a fabulous age, in which the early dawn lighted up and gilded the world as gloriously as the sun in mid heavens. But this is all a dream. The facts stubbornly refuse to countenance a belief in any such period. They point to the future as the only golden age. It is because so many persons have not understood this, that they have actually supposed when they have heard of the darkness of the past, of its narrowness, its bigotry, its cruelty, that these were the special characteristics of the Puritans, that it was the Puritans who were in some way responsible for all that is so repulsive ; when it was the Puritans who, although not entirely free from the effects of the influences under which they had been educated, grappled, with resolute and intrepid spirit, with the abuses of their time, and sought to clear them away and bring in something better.

The description I have given of England in the fourteenth century is very imperfect. Any description, so brief as such an hour as this allows, must be entirely inadequate. Yet

perhaps it has served to remind you what thick darkness then covered England. That century and the centuries before it have been called the centuries of death. They were so indeed ! Yet perhaps they might better be called centuries of birth. But the processes by which the development of life proceeded were so painfully slow that we grow weary as we trace them in our histories, and even from century to century we can hardly assure ourselves that there has been any substantial progress ; or scarcely that there is any life at all,—death and life seem to contend together so long for the mastery. To watch the struggle between the new life and the old death is like watching the slow coming on of the belated spring.

With our idea of the orderly ongoing of the business of life in a civilized community, it is simply impossible to understand the contrasts then presented in England. We have them described however by men whose testimony is unimpeachable, by men too who described them from different points of view and for different purposes. One of the witnesses is Wycliffe—a scholar who had been at first drawn away from his academic studies by the necessity of appearing in the defence of the rights of the crown against Roman aggressions. As the struggle went on, he was brought to realize how little the church, as then constituted, was doing for the spiritual interests of the people, and he conceived the idea of translating the Bible for their use. But the first of the reformers came too soon. Another contemporary witness is William Longland, the poet of the poor. A third is the genial Chaucer,—the poet of the brightest side of the life of the period. Longland and Chaucer have been called Puritan poets, though they lived before what is distinctively called the Puritan age. They substantially agree as to the disheartening character of the outlook. Peterkin, the ploughman, pictures the woes of the laboring classes, the vices and the abuses that reigned everywhere, and especially the moral destitution of the people. He

arraigns the church as responsible for it. He boldly attacks its corruptions. He pictures its worldliness, and the carelessness of its dignitaries. He describes the hypocrisy, the ignorance, the insolence, the immorality of the ecclesiastics. He professes himself to be in despair, and finds his only comfort in the hope that there may yet be a thorough religious reformation. In opposition to all the perfunctory formalities prescribed by the church, he proclaims that a righteous life is far better than a host of indulgences. Chaucer draws attractive pictures of the well-to-do citizens of different ranks, the doctor, the man of law, the clerk, the franklin, the squire, the parson, the friar, the miller. He does this with a lightness and brilliancy of touch, with a geniality and human sympathy which has delighted all succeeding generations ; yet, through all, the self-indulgence and indolence and carelessness of the ecclesiastics are plainly revealed, and their neglect of the spiritual interests confided to their care. With these witnesses before us, the question cannot but arise, how could the England of Piers Ploughman, and the England of Chaucer exist side by side ? That they did, there can be no question. I have thought that the strange contrasts which then existed, and which Longland and Chaucer reveal, are perhaps well illustrated by the scenes in an English novel, which not long ago was widely read and admired ; though it describes a very different period of English history. I refer to a picture of English rural life, most attractive in many respects, as it existed in the latter part of the seventeenth century. I refer to *Lorna Doone*, written by R. D. Blackmore. Those of you who have read the work will remember that the reader is introduced into the charming home of an English yeoman. Nothing in English literature is more beautiful than the description which is given of the order and regularity with which everything proceeds in this almost ideal farm house. But within a few miles live a nest of brutal outlaws,—all men,



it is well to notice, in whose veins flow the blood of the nobility of England. These outlaws subsist by regular systematic robbery. There is no farm house that is not at any time in danger of a visitation ; no family that is not liable to be waked at night and to find ricks, and barns, and the house itself, in a blaze ; no family that does not know that if they have gained for themselves the enmity of these men, they may be exposed, as they attempt to make their escape,—men, women, and children,—to the merciless shots of these midnight marauders. This was the state of things in England half a century after New England was settled. Now in the fourteenth century it was immeasurably worse. Brigandage in a hundred forms was almost an every day occurrence. No pack wagon carried merchandise on any road of England, from town to town, without the protection of an armed guard. Yet, notwithstanding every precaution, it was liable to be stopped on the highway by a stronger force, its contents seized and carried off. Dr. Jessopp says of this period, after a detail of particulars which are too revolting for repetition : “It is impossible to realize the hideous ferocity of the state of society at this time. The women were as bad as the men, furious beldames, dangerous as wild beasts, without pity, without shame, and without remorse, who finding life so cheerless, so hopeless, so very, very dark and miserable, when nothing else was to be gained by killing anyone else, killed themselves.” And yet at that very time the courts were everywhere open. Judges rode their circuits, and bishops made their regular visitations. Such were the amazing contrasts that England presented in the fourteenth century.

I shall not undertake to give anything like a description of events between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries ; but I will remind you that of the two hundred and fifty years



between 1388 and the landing of that company of English Christians on these shores, the whole of the first half was little better than the fourteenth century. During a great part of it, the period of the Wars of the Roses, it was actually in many respects worse. It is true that there was progress, but it was hardly apparent at the time. At the end of the next hundred years, however, about the close of the sixteenth century, or at the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a great change had become apparent. But you will notice that we have now come quite down to the time of the birth of John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, and it is for this reason that we are interested to inquire what were the forces during the sixteenth century that brought about the change from the darkness of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. What were the influences under which the characters of the founders of New Haven were formed?

In attempting to answer this question, I remind you that England had been almost the last country in Europe to feel the effects of the intellectual regeneration which commenced in Italy on the arrival of the Greek scholars, who had fled from Constantinople upon its capture by the Turks in the fifteenth century. In each of the countries of Southern Europe, the effects of the "new learning," as it was called, which these Greek scholars brought, were felt in the stimulus that it gave to thought. Taine says, "Men then opened their eyes for the first time and saw." The first effect in each country was to destroy all interest in the native literature, which till then had given delight. But soon a new literature arose, far more vigorous, and so full of freshness and beauty that it is still the admiration of the world. But, among those southern nations, the "new learning" to a great extent expended its power in the domain of literature. Yet it is to be noticed that, even in its influence on literature, its effects varied in different countries according to the race character-

istics of the people. So in England, the effects of the "new learning" were felt in the line of the race characteristics of that people. But as the English were not predisposed to any special interest in the beautiful, in any of its forms, the revival in England was not at all of a literary or of an artistic character. The English were a practical people, and so the revival among them was distinguished by the effects which it produced in a practical way upon what had been from the first their strongest race characteristics—their religious spirit and the spirit of freedom which animated them. In England, the effect of the new learning was to give a new and rapid development to each of these.

The first of these race characteristics of the English people of which I will speak was their interest in religion. This was one of the marked characteristics of our Teutonic ancestors, when we first hear of them among the German forests. They had a predisposition to take serious views of life and to ponder the questions which relate to the hereafter. The people of Southern Europe were satisfied with the sensuous beauty of the visible. In the gloomy North, nature was everywhere so wild and savage that men seem to have been disposed to look beyond it, and, instead of resting in the contemplation of the visible which was so forbidding, to think of the Being to whom Nature owed its origin—a Being infinitely great, who could only be apprehended by the reverent mind. In the Eddas are preserved their first rude ideas. Coarse people, as they were, they loved to dwell on such high themes as Right, Duty, Responsibility, Honor, Heroism, Self-Sacrifice. Tacitus tells us that their preference was to live solitary, each one near the spring or the wood which had taken his fancy. Even when they dwelt in villages, each family lived apart. Each Teuton thought for himself. Each Teuton acted for himself.

All were distinguished for their reticence, their personal independence, their manly dignity, their marked individuality. To them life presented itself as a warfare, and in the Sagas it is the man who is loyal to the right, and is willing to sacrifice self, that is held up as worthy of the highest praise. I quote from a description of a warrior who in battle had refused to save himself, when his chief was in danger. He is represented as saying "I will not budge hence. I mean to die by my lord's side, near this man I have loved so much." Then we are told, "This warrior kept his word, the word he had given to his chief. He had sworn that they should either return to their homes together safe and sound, or that they should both fall together in the thick of the carnage, covered with wounds." The Saga closes: "The dead warrior lay by his chief's side, a faithful servant." After the old vikings had come to England to live, the first glimpse that we have of their descendants shows that they were true to their race instincts. Christian missionaries visited them, and addressed their king, as he was entertaining his chiefs at a feast. When the missionary had finished, a warrior arose and said: "You remember, O King, that which sometimes happens in winter when you are seated at table with your earls and thanes. Your fire is lighted, and your hall is warm, and without is rain and snow and storm. Then comes a swallow flying across the hall. He enters by one door and leaves by another. The brief moment while he is within is pleasant to him. He feels not rain nor cheerless wintry weather; but the moment is brief. The bird flies away in the twinkling of an eye, and he passes from winter to winter. Such methinks is the life of man on earth compared with the uncertain time beyond. It appears for a while, but what is the time which comes after, what the time which was before? We know not. If then, this new doctrine may teach us somewhat of greater certainty, it were well that we should regard it." The high priest then declared in presence of them

all, that the old gods were powerless, that he knew nothing of that which he adored ; and among the first, lance in hand, he assisted to demolish the temple where they had before worshiped.

This interest in the "time which comes after" and "the time which was before," this desire to attain to greater certainty about the great questions which relate to the unseen and the hereafter never ceased to characterize the descendants of those old vikings. The lament of Piers Ploughman, and the writings of Wicliffe, even the gay verses of Chaucer, give evidence of the hold which these same ideas had on the English mind, even in those centuries when the church was most forgetful of its responsibilities. So when the "new learning" had begun in Italy to attract attention, we find that the men who first went there to study, Grocyn, Linacre, John Colet, did not go there simply for purposes connected with literature. It was for a very different object. They looked upon the Greek language as a key that would enable them to unlock the true meaning of the New Testament, in which they hoped to find that which would serve for the spiritual enlightenment of their countrymen. They kept this end steadily in view. Uninfluenced by the semi-infidel scholars with whom they came in contact, they remained true to the special object for which they had left their homes, and on their return to England, established themselves in the universities, and began with enthusiasm to expound the Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul. They soon preached a new theology, not founded on the Fathers and the Schoolmen, but on the words of Scripture. They were met by a storm of opposition from the ecclesiastics. They replied by demanding that there should be a reform of life among the clergy. Colet, at the direction of Archbishop Warham, addressed Convocation, and said : " Would that for once you would remember your name and profession and take thought for the reformation of the

Church! Never was it more necessary and never did the state of the church need more vigorous endeavors! We are troubled with heretics; but no heresy is so fatal to us and to the people at large as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy. That is the worst heresy of all. The reform of the bishops must precede the reform of the clergy. The reform of the clergy will lead to a general revival of religion among the people at large. The accumulation of benefices, the luxury and worldliness of the priesthood, must be abandoned. The prelates should preach, should forsake the court, and labor in their own dioceses. Care should be taken for the ordination and promotion of worthy ministers. Residence should be enforced. The low standard of clerical morality should be raised."

As the "new learning" spread, the attack on the ecclesiastics was taken up by others, prominent among whom was Erasmus, who wrote the "Praise of Folly," in which he exposed with such wit and eloquence the ignorance and the bigotry of the ecclesiastics, that to this day it holds its place as a classic. Colet, at his own expense, established a grammar school in London. His example was everywhere followed. Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, went on with the work, and grammar schools were opened all over England. Everywhere there was seen an intellectual quickening. Parallel with this there was going on also an increase of wealth in the country. English merchants began to trade with all the cities of Europe. English ships were sent into the Baltic and crossed the Ocean. Manufactures began to receive attention. A social revolution was beginning to make itself felt, which was not confined to London. In all the towns of England wealth increased and men set higher value on education and intelligence.

Just at this moment, the friends of the "new learning" were able to give to the English people the Bible, which under

the Roman system had been unknown among them, except to a few of the priesthood. In Germany, Luther had been a monk for years, when by an accident, as he was dusting the library of his monastery, he happened upon a copy of it. So in England, if the Bible had been known to the ecclesiastics, they had made no practical use of it. The Bible therefore came like a new revelation to a people who were thirsting for instruction. It was received as a fresh and inspired disclosure of the mind and will of God. The reverent submission which men had in former times been disposed to yield to the church was now at once transferred to that book. In place of the church, the Bible was accepted as the sole and sufficient authority. It served to assure the most humble believer that he might approach the Creator in direct and personal communion without the intercession of any so-called saint, and without the help of any priest.

But what gave the Bible its special power was its adaptation to the strongest of the race characteristics of the English people, the English predisposition to religion—the English conception of each man's own individuality and each man's own personal responsibility.

It may be said that the Bible has shown itself to be adapted to the race characteristics of every people. This is undoubtedly true, and this fact has even sometimes been urged as one of the proofs of its divine origin. It certainly has shown itself to be a book for the world, for all people. The Huguenots in France; the Camisards among the mountains of the Cevennes; the Waldenses in Italy; the Germans in the time of Luther; the people of Hindoostan and of the Islands of the Sea, the old and the young, the prosperous and the unfortunate, the joyful and the sad, in all generations, in all periods of life, and under all circumstances, have found that it meets their myriad experiences and necessities, and in each new joy or sorrow, the devout believer finds in it solace, encourage-

ment, or warning. Before our Civil War, how often were we told that there was something in the Old Testament which took hold, in a wonderful manner, of the imaginations of the slaves of the South. The story of the exodus, the journey in the wilderness, the denunciations of the prophets against the oppressor, the encouraging words of the Psalmist, the glorious pictures of the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation, seemed just adapted to meet all the peculiar sorrows and all the hopes of that imaginative race. This is all true. Yet it does seem as if no people have ever found their race characteristics more completely met by the Bible than the English in the sixteenth century. In exact harmony with their ideas of individualism, which are as old as the race, it seemed to address itself to each one personally. It told him of his individual obligations to God. It presented God as a governor, as the giver of a perfect law, which every man knew he had broken. It presented a remedy offered by God, by which the majesty of law could be upheld and yet man might be saved. It met his views of duty, of right, of self-sacrifice.

It is difficult for us to appreciate the enthusiasm with which the Bible was received by the English people. Our literature is so varied. Books of every description are so numerous, that only to hear of a new book often almost wearies us. Yet even in these later times, a book sometimes absorbs the attention of a whole people and moulds public opinion in a way that we can hardly understand. Mr. John Morley—in speaking of the appearance of a book written by a popular author just before the French Revolution of 1798, which has been sometimes numbered among the causes which helped to bring on that crisis among the French people—says: “The booksellers were unable to meet the demand; the book was let out at the rate of twelve sous a volume, and the volume could not be detained above an hour. All classes shared the excitement, courtiers, soldiers, lawyers, and bourgeois. Stories



were told of fine ladies dressed for the ball, who took up the book for half an hour, until the time should come for starting, who read until midnight, and when informed that the carriage waited, answered not a word, and when reminded by and by that it was two o'clock, still read on." Now it is to be noticed that this book of which Mr. Morley speaks, was only one book, and it appeared in France at a time when there was already an abundant national literature. But the Bible is more than a single book. Within its covers is the whole national literature of the Hebrew people. "Legend and annal, war song and psalm, state roll and biography, the mighty voices of prophets, the parables of evangelists, stories of mission journeys, of perils by the sea and among the heathen, philosophic argument, apocalyptic vision; and all these were flung broadcast over minds unoccupied for the most part by any rival learning." He who thinks of the Bible as a single book, loses much of the impression which it is calculated to make. It is in reality a collection of more than sixty books, and when those sixty books were first given to the English people, and Cranmer's Bible was ordered to be read publicly in the churches, crowds rushed to hear it. Still more, when in 1576 the little Geneva Bible—then printed for the first time in Roman type, and in a form which could be carried by each man to his own home—was read by those who had little else to read, the effect was felt throughout the whole nation, and the whole conception of religion was changed.

Of the reality and extent of this change we have proof in the burst of welcome, with which in 1590, the great poem of Edmund Spenser was hailed—"The Faery Queen." In his earlier verses, Spenser had dared to hold up Archbishop Grindal, who was in disgrace for his Puritan sympathies, as the model of what a Christian bishop should be. In this new poem, he sought to describe the efforts of the man who is



seeking to obtain the divine favor, and says that the character which is pleasing to God must bear the "lineaments of gospel books." The poem is a story of knight errantry, in the form of an allegory. In conformity with the popular taste, Spenser assigns a knightly champion to each virtue, and each of these knights is represented as entering upon the struggle with some particular form of sin. Mr. Green says that the poem both in its conception and in the way that the conception is realized, "struck the note of the coming Puritanism." It was "Puritan to the core." It at once became "the delight of every accomplished gentleman, the model of every poet, the solace of every soldier." Milton, a generation or two later, addressing the Parliament of England, said that Spenser was "a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas." John Wesley, giving directions for the clerical studies of his Methodist disciples, recommended them to combine with the study of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament, the reading of the "Faery Queen." Mr. Keble, the poet of the "Christian Year," describes the "Faery Queen" as "a continual, deliberate endeavor to enlist the restless intellect and chivalrous feeling of an inquiring and romantic age on the side of goodness and faith, of purity and justice." The wonderful popularity of such a poem is proof of the strength of the religious feeling which pervaded all classes of the English people at the close of the sixteenth century.

I pass now to another of the race characteristics of the English people, which was perhaps as strong as their predisposition to religion—their love of freedom. Tacitus bears testimony to the fact, that when the Romans first came in contact with our Teutonic ancestors, liberty was really a passion with them, and certainly, down to the accession of the Tudor princes, nothing had ever occurred to break the free

spirit which their ancestors brought from the forests of Germany. Notwithstanding what is called the "Norman Conquest," the inhabitants of England had never been depressed by the feeling that they were a conquered people. The "Norman Conquest" had proved a great blessing. It had served to unite all the various branches of the great Teutonic family, who had successively made homes for themselves on English soil with the aboriginal Britons. It had built up an English people. All the old distinctions of Saxon, and Mercian, and Northumbrian had been forever swept away by the coming of the Norman, and by the strong rule which he extended over all. And now, at last, in the fourteenth century, even the distinction of Norman and Saxon had passed away. There is not a word in Magna Charta which refers to any difference between the two races. Both are spoken of as English. The people of England are recognized as one people.

The present generation of English speaking people has derived its ideas on this subject to a great extent from the romances of Sir Walter Scott; but Mr. Freeman tells us that there is not a line in the charming novel of *Ivanhoe* which does not convey an erroneous impression with respect to the relations of the Saxons to the Normans. Notwithstanding the Conquest, the institutions of the land remained English.

The local, judicial, and administrative forms of government in the fourteenth century were practically the same as in the sixteenth century. After three centuries, the conquerors were themselves conquered. Though they had introduced a third part of the words into the language, the language continued to be English. Their descendants spoke English. English blood had gained the predominance everywhere over the Norman blood. The nation itself remained English. By the fourteenth century, the soil of England was almost entirely in the hands of men who could trace their descent to the very

Anglo-Saxon proprietors who had been in possession before the coming of the Normans. It is not to be forgotten that, at the time of the Conquest, William claimed to have a legal right to the throne. Mr. Freeman tells us that it is utterly unjust to speak of this claim of legal right and his show of a legal government as mere pretence to cover the violence of a successful brigand. It is true that his position was different from the position of a king of foreign birth who succeeds to a crown by peaceable election or peaceable hereditary succession. But Mr. Freeman says it was also very different from the position of a mere invader reigning by sheer military force. If England had been oppressed, it was to a great extent the undesigned oppression which had only arisen from the fact that their laws had been administered by foreigners. Mr. Freeman insists that the notion that every Englishman at the Conquest was turned out of hearth and home is a mere dream. The men who actually fought against William at Senlac were undoubtedly dispossessed to a great extent; but the actual occupiers of the soil remained in general undisturbed. In some cases Englishmen of high rank contrived even to win William's personal favor and kept their lands and even their offices. Thousands of proprietors redeemed their land by a payment of money to the new king and went back to their homes rejoicing. As Mr. Freeman expresses it, "They had been in the lion's mouth and had come forth unhurt." Those who received their estates back received them of course according to the prevalent feudal ideas, as a fresh gift from the over-lord; and different proprietors doubtless received them back on different terms according to the merits or demerits of each particular grantee. Some received them as a free gift. Some bought them back. Some acquired the whole of their former lands; others a part. Some even received a fresh gift beyond what they originally possessed. In some cases, a widow or an heiress saved a great estate by consenting to give

herself and her lands in marriage to one of the friends of the conqueror. So at the end of the fourteenth century, when there had come about the thorough amalgamation of the Normans with the great body of the English people, there were few landed proprietors, even among those who bore Norman names, who could not trace back their pedigree, at least on one side, to the original Anglo-Saxon proprietors of the soil.

Now these men possessed the independent spirit of free-men, and they displayed the virtues which usually accompany freedom. They were brave, outspoken, truthful. They were capable of strong and lasting friendships. They were ever ready to make sacrifices for any object that seemed to demand it. They had an ever present feeling of obligation to what they considered their duty, and a disposition to be loyal to their chief. And this spirit was not confined to them. It was shared to a great extent by the people at large. The English people were a free people. Neither in theory nor in practice did their kings possess absolute power. The prerogatives of the king were great, but he could not legislate; he could not impose the lightest tax without the consent of Parliament. He was bound to administer the government according to the laws of the land, and immemorial custom. The line which bounded the royal prerogative was not drawn with any great distinctness, but even William the Conqueror, as has just been said, took pains to have it understood that he would conform to English law. King John, that "knight without truth," as he has been called, that "king without justice, that Christian without faith," attempted to disregard the laws, and all classes rose up against him, and he thought himself fortunate in appeasing their anger by signing at Runnymede the Great Charter. I need hardly remind you that this was not a new or a different code of laws, but merely a formal recognition of the great and fundamental principles on which the

government had rested from time immemorial. It was a written ratification of the traditions and customs of the land, and of all the liberties which had been conferred by his predecessors. After that, the most self-willed of English kings were very careful to pay the utmost respect to the laws, though they often sought to accomplish their designs by some kind of evasion. Mr. Macaulay says, that so long as the general spirit of the administration was mild and popular, the people allowed much latitude to the sovereign ; but to this indulgence there was a limit. It would not do for a king to presume too far on the forbearance of the people. If for ends generally allowed to be good he overstepped the constitutional line, they forgave him ; but they claimed the privilege of overstepping this line themselves. If he did it contrary to their ideas of what was for the general good, they appealed to the laws, and that appeal failing, they appealed to the god of battles. They kept this check of physical force always ready, and brought the proudest and fiercest king to terms. Resistance was the ordinary method in political disturbances.

This bold and free spirit that was so generally diffused among all classes of the English people was owing, in great measure, to the fact that there had never been any exclusive spirit of caste which had separated the nobles from the rest of the nation. In the States on the Continent, the descendants of a person of noble rank were themselves noble, and an almost insuperable barrier separated them forever from the people, and the people from them. In those States there were only two classes, nobles and peasants. But in England, the nobility were constantly receiving fresh members from the people and constantly sending down members to mingle with the people. Knighthood might be reached by any one who could amass an estate and showed valor on the field of battle. The daughter of even a royal duke might marry a commoner. Any gentleman might become a peer. The

younger son of a peer was but a gentleman. The grandson of a peer yielded precedence to a newly made knight. Good blood was held in high respect, but between good blood and the peerage, nothing barred the way but merit. Mr. Macaulay tells us that even in that age there were pedigrees and scutcheons out of the house of lords as old as the oldest within. There were new men who bore the highest titles. There were untitled men who were descended from men who bore the highest titles. There were Mowbrays, Veres, Bohuns, and even kinsmen of Plantagenets, who had not one civil privilege beyond those of any shop-keeper or any farmer in the land.

This fact that there had never been any impassable line between patricians and plebeians is so important in its bearing on the English character, that perhaps it will not be out of place to give some illustrations drawn from the condition of things in different classes of English society. It will not be necessary to enter into any detailed account of the more minute subdivisions of these classes at the period of the Plantagenet princes. It will be enough for my purpose to take only the broadest division,—that alluded to by Mr. Hallam. He reminds his readers that there survives at the present day among all English speaking children a string of words which are generally supposed to be meaningless, but which have really come down from a very remote period, as a “distributive enumeration” of what were then the different classes of English society. The words are “gentleman, apothecary, ploughman, thief.” Under the title “gentleman” were included the greater and lesser nobility, and the lords of the manor, who may be considered as petty kings distributed all over England, holding subjects under them of different ranks. Under the title of “ploughman” were included two classes. There was the yeoman, who lived on his own acres and cultivated his own land, which he either owned absolutely, or for

which he paid yearly to the lord of the manor a small nominal sum of money, not as rent, but simply as an acknowledgment of his lordship. There was also a class lower in the social scale, who paid rent and were obliged to perform certain menial duties. These last were the villeins, who were bound to the soil, and were unable to leave it or change their condition without the license of the lord of the manor. "Apothecary" was a term which was applied to the burgesses of the towns. The "thief" was a villein who owed allegiance to the lord of the manor, but had either become a vagabond or had fled to the "greenwood" and was living the life of an outlaw.

Now for illustration of this fact, that among all these different classes of society there was no impassable barrier between patrician and plebeian, I take down the biography of the first person whose name occurs to me at random, among those remarkable men who made the glory of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. I read as follows: "In a poor farm-house among the pleasant valleys of South Devon, among the white apple orchards and the rich water meadows, and the red fallows and the red kine, in the year of grace 1552, a boy was born as beautiful as day, and christened Walter Raleigh. His father was a gentleman of ancient blood; none older in the land; but impoverished, he had settled down upon the wreck of his estate in that poor farm-house. His mother was a Champernoun, proudest of Norman squires, and could probably boast of having in her veins the blood of Courtneys, Emperors of Constantinople."

I turn next to the account which Bishop Latimer himself gave of his own childhood. He says, "My father was a yeoman and had no lands of his own. He hired a farm of three or four pounds by the year, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for one hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did



find the king a harness with himself and his horse. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath Field. He kept me in school. He married my sisters with five pounds apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbor, and some alms he gave to the poor."

Perhaps I have made the mistake of drawing these illustrations from the period of the Tudor princes. The condition of English society at that time, in other respects, was very different, as I will soon attempt to show. But my object has been only to call attention to the fact that in every age of English history, there has been this thorough amalgamation going on between patrician and plebeian, in both the ascending and descending scale so that in the poor farm-houses might be found the descendants of the highest nobles; and side by side those who were themselves of plebeian descent who were rising to the highest positions in England. I will therefore take one more illustration from the lowest class of society, that of the villeins in the time of the Plantagenets. Dr. Jessopp tells us of a certain Ralph Red, who in the thirteenth century was a villein on the lands of the lord of the manor in one of the villages of Norfolk. He had a son Ralph, who having been admitted to the priesthood, became in consequence enfranchised. After a time this son, having acquired the means, purchased the freedom of his father and his father's family. A hundred years afterwards, a descendant of this same Ralph Red became himself lord of the very manor on which his ancestor Ralph Red had been a villein. And the daughter of this lord of the manor married a learned judge of the time, Sir William Yelverton, a knight of the Bath. From them are descended Lord Avonmore and the Yelvertons, who are now Earls of Sussex.

Now this absence, from the first period of English history, of any insuperable barrier between patricians and plebeians,



and the possibility of the intermingling of whatever there was of good blood in the land with that of every other class, had wrought important results on the character of the whole English people. It is an illustration on a large scale of the effect of natural laws, now recognized by the science of heredity. Blood tells among men as truly as among animals. The whole body of English people had felt the effects down to the very villeins. Many of those qualities which were elsewhere deemed to be the characteristics of patricians alone, were in England to be found among plebeians—individuality, personal dignity, independence, a sense of honor, an interest in the State of which every one felt himself a part, aspiration, self-confidence—all the qualities which are to-day recognized as the national characteristics of Englishmen.

In the States of Europe, the nobles were a caste. They were kept by themselves. All outside of this caste were peasants. There was nothing to elevate them or give them hope. The histories of the time describe them as degraded almost to the level of the swine and oxen which they tended. No matter how enterprising or thrifty they were, they could not rise. Their condition in the Middle Ages may be judged from the condition of the serfs in Russia to-day, whom an English poet has lately thus described :—

The serf is in his hut ; the unsacred sire  
 Who can beget no honor ! Lo, his mate  
 Dim through the reeking garlick, she whose womb  
 Doth shape his ignorant shame, and whose young slave  
 In some far field thickens a knouted hide  
 For baser generations. Their dull eyes  
 Are choked with feudal warfare; their rank limbs  
 Steam in the sty of plenty. Their rude tongues  
 That fill the belly from the common trough,  
 Discharge in gobbets of as gross a speech,  
 That other maw, the heart. Nor doth the boor  
 Refuse his owner's chattel, though she breed  
 The rich man's increase; nor doth she disdain

The joyless usage of such limbs as toil,  
 Yoked with the nobler ox, and take as mute  
 A beast's infliction. At her stolid side  
 The girl that shall be such a thing as she  
 Suckles the babe she would not, with the milk  
 A bondmaid owes her master.

Now there was no such class of people in England whose lot was so hopeless. Even the villeins caught something of the prevailing feeling of independence. The bold outlaws of the "greenwood," so famous in English story, were largely recruited from this class, and the knowledge that their children might rise to a higher condition was always a source of hope and courage. Besides, they shared in that general spirit of independence which had been so generally diffused among the whole people. English historians of the Middle Ages have recognized fully the importance of the existence in England of what they call the great middle class, so unlike and so superior to any body of men to be found elsewhere in Europe in that age. But the existence of this middle class is something to be itself explained. Why was there this middle class? Was it not the result of the intermingling of the best blood of England with that of all classes? So it was that whenever in those ages English soldiers contended with the soldiers of the continent, the effects of these characteristics were so often to be seen. It was this that gave the victory to the English at Crecy, at Poitiers, at Agincourt. The spirit of the English yeoman was something different from that of the European serf. There was a feeling of honor, of independence, and above all, as a race characteristic, the feeling of individual responsibility, of individual obligation, to stand firm. There was no panic, for each man depended on himself and did not wait for support from some one else. It was just this same quality that kept the English squares firm at Waterloo. Mr. Kinglake, describing the battle of the Alma, in the Crimean

War, says that the Russian officers had been till then accustomed to think that the formation of troops for battle must be in crowded masses. Such was the formation on which the French and the Turks depended. It was therefore with amazement that the Russians saw the "men in red" coming on "in a slender line, only two deep, yet extending far from east to west." They could not believe that "with so fine a thread"—as he expresses it—the English general was really intending to confront their massive columns. None but men who have nerve and pluck can stand without flinching in such a line, and such nerve and pluck are the result of race characteristics.

These race characteristics are so important for the purpose which I have in view, that I cannot forbear another illustration of it, as manifested by one of the latest descendants of the principal leader of that very company of English Christians who founded this town. I remind you of a young officer of artillery, one of the most brilliant of those brilliant young men from this town, who laid down their lives on the field of battle in the Civil War, and one still remembered with loving affection by many here present, who confidently expected for him, after having been trained under these elms in every academic and every manly accomplishment, a long career of usefulness. In one of the fiercest of the battles of the Wilderness, he received an order to take and hold a dangerous position with his battery. He asked "Am I to have any support?" He was told that no support could be given him. "Then," was his reply, as he went to what proved the gates of death, "I will support myself." That was the spirit which has ever characterized the Anglo-Saxon people; a spirit which can only be built up by years of freedom. "I will support myself!" "We run after nobody!" That is the spirit which characterizes all branches of the Teutonic family on this side of the Atlantic, as well as the other.

I have now called attention to two of the strongest race characteristics of the English people, and it is evident that they had not been weakened during the time of the Plantagenets. I come now to the Tudors. They were inclined to be despotic ; but even under the Tudors, the spirit of the English people remained the same ; and their confidence that they were entitled to all the rights granted by Magna Charta and immemorial custom suffered no diminution. The Tudors were so situated that they did not dare to go beyond a certain point. They never carried arbitrary rule too far. They showed discretion. They always stood in a kind of awe of their subjects. This was in great measure due to the fact that England was an island. As it was protected from invasion by the sea, it was unnecessary for the king to have a regular army. On the continent where the boundary line between different States might be only an imaginary line, or a river that could easily be forded, there was a necessity of being always prepared for an attack, so the army designed for the country's protection could be at any time used to quell any opposition on the part of the citizens. The Tudors had no army. So they did not dare to trespass on the rights of the people ; for they had no adequate force at hand to intimidate those who should resist. Even Henry VIII. did little to lessen permanently the bold and self-reliant spirit which had grown so strong. It is true that the reign of Henry VIII. was one of terror. The heads of all who displeased him rolled from the block. But strangely his policy was of a kind that did not bring any permanent injury to the liberties of the country. The policy which he adopted had been suggested by Thomas Cromwell, a man whose character is one of the inscrutable mysteries of history. Little is known of his early life, except that he had been in Italy, and it is quite evident that he had profited by the writings of Machiavelli. He conceived a definite aim of carrying on the government in such a way as to put all power into the

hands of Henry and make him absolute. But instead of openly appearing as the foe of the national liberties, he used Parliament as his tool, and made the old forms of constitutional freedom serve as the instruments of his tyranny. The whole nation was panic stricken ; but they did not realize that all was part of a plan to enslave them. Every new step was taken, every new measure was carried through with such adroitness, that the people thought it was the work of their own Parliament. They never lost faith in themselves.

Yet all were not thus blind. Under the very eye of the king, Sir Thomas More, one of the most conspicuous friends of the "new learning," dared to publish his "Utopia," in which he declaimed against the prevalent tyranny. He described an ideal country where flourished public security, religious tolerance, equality, brotherhood, freedom. He went further. He advocated the principle that a sovereign should be removed on the mere suspicion of a design to enslave the people. He hints that there was at that very time an attempt to do this in England ; that the law courts were lending themselves to the assistance of those who were bent on destroying English freedom. He says that the maxim was beginning to be avowed that the king can do no wrong ; that there were those who claimed that not only the property but the persons of all subjects in the realm are the king's, and that a subject has a right to no more than the king's goodness thinks fit not to take.

Queen Elizabeth tried to carry on her government according to the policy of her father, by managing Parliament, and packing it with the nominees of the Crown. But with the spread of new religious views, and with the increasing intelligence of the people, this became every year more and more difficult. The nation was learning to rely on itself. A new generation of Englishmen had grown up, who felt that they ought to have a share in the control of their own affairs.

Cromwell, in carrying out his policy in the reign of her father, had found it to be so great an advantage to have it appear that Parliament had authorized every arbitrary measure, that he had taken pains to obtain its sanction for measures which had before been considered as belonging specially to the king's prerogative; such as questions about trade, questions respecting religion, even matters of state, which never before had been submitted to Parliament. Elizabeth's own title to the Crown rested on a Parliamentary statute. In conformity with what had become a precedent, Parliament continued after the death of Henry VIII. to take action respecting such matters. They even, when they saw fit, dared to dictate to the Queen what her policy should be. Elizabeth was indignant. Mr. Green tells us that on one occasion she complained to the Spanish ambassador—"They have acted like rebels. They have dealt with me as they would not have dealt with my father. I cannot tell what these devils want!" The ambassador replied: "They want liberty, madam, and if princes do not look to themselves, and work together to put such people down, they will find before long what all this is coming to." But Elizabeth was forced to submit, and she even solemnly declared to the Commons that "she did not mean to prejudice any part of the liberties heretofore granted them."

The reign of Queen Elizabeth marks the commencement of a new era in English history. During all her long life, the aspect of things was changing. England was slowly beginning to take a place among the European States as an important power. As we now look back to the period before her time, it is difficult for us to realize that the England of the sixteenth century was not what England has been since. So many people are deceived by the exaggerated estimate which Henry VIII. put on his own importance, and have been led to suppose that he was really something like the equal of Charles V. and Francis I. in power and influence. But it should not be

forgotten that the chief importance of England at that time arose from the fact that the political strength of those two great monarchs was so nearly balanced that it was for their interest to court the king of even a third-rate nation as a make-weight. England was then the make-weight in European politics.

The real position of Henry VIII. may be illustrated by a conversation reported in a letter to Francis I. by the French ambassador in London, which appears in the last volume of the English state papers just published. Henry VIII. was talking with him in his usual braggadocio style, declaiming about what he intended to do, and what he should require of the king, when the ambassador, after having respectfully heard him through, quietly responded: "Your Majesty, that means war"—and the blustering king was brought to the realization of his own real weakness, and at once changed his tone.

The early years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth were one long struggle for national existence. England was saved from destruction only by the jealousies of her powerful neighbors. Even at home, her own people were ever ready to fly at each other's throats, and she did not dare to take sides with either party. Her real genius displayed itself in her make-shift policy. To keep everything as quiet as possible was what she aimed at, and to accomplish this she did not hesitate to tell the most unblushing falsehoods even to her ministers of state. Elizabeth did not like the Puritans, but during all her reign she was obliged to trust them, and even to court them. The intelligent, the educated, the active men of the country were to a great extent of that party. But even if they had not been, she did not dare to rely upon their opponents. Whether she liked it or not, she even had to fill the Episcopal Sees, when they became vacant, with the men who had been exiled during the Marian persecutions, and had learned their theology from the Calvinistic reformers on the continent. For political rea-



sons she was obliged also to help with her armies the Huguenots in France, and the Hollanders in the Low Countries, and the men who served in those campaigns came back with the love of liberty and religion intensified. They had witnessed the atrocities for which Philip II. was responsible; they had admired the heroic efforts of the Netherlanders to shake off the Spanish yoke; they had seen the sacrifices that the countrymen of William the Silent were willing to make to achieve their political and religious independence; they had learned to disregard the fulminations of the once dreaded pope; they had faced the best soldiers of Spain and Italy on many a hard-fought field and had seen them, time and again, skip like lambs before their victorious arms. Mr. Markham, in his *Life of Sir Francis and Sir Horace Vere*, says that at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, "there was scarcely a man in England who had not either himself served in the Low Countries, or had not a relative or neighbor who had." On the return of these men to England, they spread in every direction the new ideas respecting religion and liberty which they had learned.

Those campaigns in the Netherlands are of special interest to us as Americans. It is true that all the history of England which we have been reviewing is of interest as a part of our own history. When we go back to those centuries, we are on our own ground. Through all those centuries, our ancestors stood shoulder to shoulder with the ancestors of the men who to-day call themselves Englishmen. All of this history is as full of personal interest to us as it is to any of them. It is not one whit more theirs than it is ours. But we have reached now a period when we can single out individuals and trace the influences which prepared them for their work in this country. Those campaigns in the Netherlands not only educated the men who were to figure in the coming Revolution in England, but also the men to whom our New England ancestors looked for leadership in their military enterprises. I turn in the Bio-



graphical Dictionary to the name of our earliest Connecticut soldier, the hero of the Pequot war, and read: "JOHN MASON, trained to arms in the Netherlands, under Sir Thomas Fairfax." I read also: "MILES STANDISH, trained under Sir Horace Vere, and served in the army of the Netherlands;" and so LION GARDINER, and WINSLOW, and others. The soldiers who went to the Netherlands were either Puritans or men who were sure to become Puritans after their first campaign.

The closing years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth were crowned with success. She had triumphed over all her enemies at home and abroad. The Spaniard was no longer feared. England had become an important power among the nations of Europe. Wealth and intelligence had multiplied among the people. Mr. Green tells us that one London merchant, Thomas Sutton, at his own expense founded the great hospital and school of the Charter House; another, Hugh Myddleton, brought the New River from its springs at Chadwell and Amwell to supply London with pure water. A new architecture, too, began to testify that even the tastes of the people were improving, and their ideas of comfort. The vast and beautiful cathedrals in England and on the continent that travelers so much admire, the picturesque medieval castles, which had existed for centuries before the reign of Elizabeth, had been no index of what was the social life of the people. The cathedrals had been built when art was religion. The church in those days was what a hundred other buildings combine to make up at the present time. The church was the town hall, the concert room, the theatre, the school, the newsroom, the vestry, all in one. The reason that those vast cathedrals had been built was that, at a time when most people lived in hovels, the church afforded a place of meeting for the whole neighboring population. Each cathedral was the poor man's palace as well as that of the prince, the poor man's castle as well as that of the noble, where no enemy could reach him to do him

harm. The castles of the nobles were only fortresses, and the dwelling rooms in them were utterly cheerless. But now, as the result of the growing wealth, buildings of a different character began to be erected, and that Elizabethan architecture arose which many persons suppose to have been only one of various styles which then everywhere met the eye. Instead of this, the Elizabethan houses were only the first attempt at anything ornate or convenient.

Now this was the period in which the men who settled New Haven were born. These were the influences which surrounded their childhood. I have only attempted to give the broadest outline of some of the more important forces which had made the nation what it then was. I offer no apology for not attempting anything in the way of detail. The time at my command does not admit of it. The details have been rehearsed in your hearing a hundred times. I have thought that some such comprehensive sketch as I have attempted might present something more of novelty. I have wished only to call your attention to the fact that as far back in history as we can go—nearly two thousand years—it had been the race characteristic of the English people to be predisposed to be religious, and to cherish the love of freedom. It had been even a passion with them to take care of their own affairs. They had ever been a practical, a sensible, a level-headed people. These race characteristics had survived all the attempts of the Tudor kings to curb and destroy them, so that at the death of Queen Elizabeth they were actually stronger than ever before. The influences which had followed in the train of the “new learning,” and above all the publication of the Bible, had educated a class of men who were determined to think for themselves, and who were pervaded with an intense feeling of individual responsibility to God for all that they did.

Speaking of these men, Mr. Taine says, that "disdaining all the equivocations of worldly morality, they had enthroned conscientious labor in the workshop, probity in the counting house, truth in the tribunal, purity in the domestic hearth. They were attentive to the least requirements of duty. With fixed determination and with inexhaustible patience, courage, sacrifice, they were ready to bear all, and do all, rather than fail in the least injunction of moral justice and Bible law."

From this moment, the future of the English people was assured. Not in vain had been the sobriety and seriousness which had marked the race from the first;—not in vain that disposition to inquire about the "obscure beyond" that readiness to respond loyally to every appeal to duty;—not in vain that remarkable aptitude for self-government. The soil had been long preparing for the seed, and now that it had been sowed, there could be no question what would be the harvest.

The Bible was hailed as giving an explanation of all the dark enigmas that had perplexed so many generations. Men no longer rested satisfied with a mere outward connection with the church. They no longer resigned all the great issues of life and death to a priesthood. Each man realized that he sustained a personal relation to God, as truly as if he were alone in the universe with his Creator. He saw now what was the meaning of life. The here and the hereafter were parts of the same existence. He was placed in this world to develop his own individual character and fit himself for the service of God hereafter. The Bible prescribed the rule of conduct which he was to follow. The kingdom of God had been set up on earth and he was to be, in every relation of life, loyal to its interests, and thus prepare himself for the service of God in heaven. This was Puritanism; and to-day, among English speaking people, this is everywhere accepted as essential to a true religious life, among those who are not distinctively Puritan, as truly as among those who acknowledge their Puritan descent.

Even in the Roman Catholic church, it is now everywhere proclaimed in all Protestant countries, that the mere formal connection with that particular church, and external conformity to its prescribed ritual, is useless.

Now it was when such a state of things had come to exist in England, that a king succeeded to the throne, in accordance with the theory of dynastic rule, who was of a different race. It is true that his grandfather's grandfather had been an English king, and so it may be said that one-sixteenth part of him was of English extraction; but he had nothing in common with the people over whom he came to rule. He did not understand them, and he remained through life a stranger to all their thoughts and traditions. He belonged to a family which for a hundred years had been engaged in a fierce struggle to maintain their position against warring factions of nobles. He himself had suffered humiliations which had embittered all his feelings, and made him the suspicious and determined enemy of all that might in any way oppose his will. He came to England with the settled determination to stem the current of national feeling which had been for so many centuries steadily setting towards a more enlarged freedom. I do not propose to characterize James I. Every new historian who writes about him has sought to tax all the resources of the English language to express contempt of his ridiculous self-conceit, his unbounded pride, his want of tact, his pedantry, and his hundred weaknesses. Believing that he had a divine right to rule, he soon avowed that there were no limits to the royal prerogative. At a time when religion was a subject in which every one felt a most absorbing interest, and when intelligence was so widely diffused that the people understood what were the interests of the nation, and felt that they had a right through their representatives in Parliament

to have a share in the conduct of affairs, James attempted to exercise a more exclusive control over all that pertained to church and state, than any king who had gone before him. He openly expressed contempt for the public policy of Queen Elizabeth, and the nation heard with amazement that he was making peace proposals to the Spaniards, that he was negotiating with the pope, and that he was denouncing the Hollanders as rebels. As his lofty ideas of absolute power began to be developed more fully, he ran counter to the prejudices of all classes in the realm. The Roman Catholics were so enraged that they formed the gunpowder plot. The Puritans were insulted and browbeaten. He threatened that they should be "harried out of the land." The nobles were exasperated by the sale of new peerages and even high offices of state. Parliaments were prorogued. The judges were reduced to be the servants of his will; the course of justice was tampered with; new offences were created by proclamation; new penalties, without the act of Parliament; offenders were brought before courts that had no legal jurisdiction. Yet when did an unscrupulous king ever find lack of courtiers to give him help and encouragement? Soon they proclaimed the principle that was afterwards reduced to a system by Sir Robert Filmer, that "the subject has no positive rights in behalf of which he may decline illegal requisitions." That he is "bound to obey the king's command against law, nay, in some cases, against divine laws." Preachers were rewarded, and advanced in position, for teaching that "the king might take the subject's money at his pleasure, and no one might refuse his demand on penalty of damnation." The university of Oxford pronounced a solemn decree that it is "in no case lawful for subjects to make use of force against their princes," and all persons promoted to degrees were compelled to subscribe this article. A little later this same university anathematized as "false, seditious, and impious," the doctrine that

civil authority is derived from the people. It was declared that there could be no release from this thralldom. The subject could not divest himself of the allegiance which he owed to the Lord's anointed. As long as he had life, he was amenable, wherever he might go, to the despotic power of the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission.

Contemporaneous with the innovations, almost countless in number, which were going on in the government of the church and the state, public attention was called to a series of scandals connected with the raising of the so-called "Favorites" to the highest offices of the government, which even now cannot be read without amazement and disgust. There was the divorce of Essex, and the marriage of his worthless wife, Catherine Howard, to the equally worthless Scotch page, Carr, who was elevated to the peerage as Viscount Rochester. There was the murder of Sir John Overbury; and, with the fall of Somerset, the raising of the shallow and unprincipled Villiers to the head of affairs, as Duke of Buckingham. The Court was thoroughly corrupt, and it became publicly known that great nobles had been playing the part of panders; that high officers of state had been in league with cheats, and astrologers, and poisoners. The corruption which was so conspicuous in the Court was spreading also among all classes of the people. The young men of wealth who were sent to travel on the continent that they might learn what was called the "Italian polish," came back in too many instances mere fops and profligates, caring for nothing in heaven or earth save personal enjoyment. Italy was then the center from whence spread to all nations who had any connection with her, every form of crime and wickedness. Sins were practiced there worthy of the doom of the Cities of the Plain. But in Italy vice was veiled, and some show of decency was preserved. Vice was deprived of its grossness and made attractive. But when the vices of the polished races around the Mediterranean were

copied by the coarser people of England, there was an exhibition of low sensuality which was absolutely disgusting and almost beyond belief. Even the few details, which the historians of the period give as illustrations of what they assure their readers are the least objectionable examples of it, are simply sickening. The whole reign of James was a reign of shame. There was nothing to redeem it. His foreign policy was no better than his home policy. It was so weak and vacillating that the nation was humiliated and exasperated; and England, which, at the death of Queen Elizabeth, had rank among the great powers of Europe, was disgraced, and was regarded as a mere satellite of Spain.

This exhibition of the state of things in England during the reign of James I.—inadequate as the limits of this Address have necessitated it to be—will serve at least to show what were some of the influences which moulded the characters of the founders of New Haven and of New England during their early manhood. Those men were probably for the most part the children of the original proprietors of the soil in England, whose pedigree went back of the Norman intruders. They belonged to the great party which was still true to the Anglo-Saxon traditions of liberty, and which felt it to be a sacred duty to uphold the national honor, at home and abroad. With all sincerity, and with all the seriousness and practical spirit of their race, they had accepted the Bible as a revelation of God, given by Him to regulate their daily life. They were thoroughly in earnest—if ever men were in this world—in their endeavor to conform to what they thought to be the veritable commandments of God. The innovations which were being made in the government of the State as well as that of the Church caused dismay among them. The increasing corruption of morals which had become absolutely disgusting, and



of which most persons at the present day have not the slightest conception, affected them with the deepest alarm. Vice was flaunting itself openly. Virtue, purity, religion were boldly ridiculed. Some new public or private scandal was almost every day exposed. The Puritans strove valiantly in the contest which was then going on. It was a many-sided contest, waged against absolutism and against vice. There was a display of heroism on their part that is now fully recognized by all the great historians of the period. Carlyle, Goldwin Smith, Charles Kingsley, Green, and so many others, have exposed the foolish and malicious libels with which those who have been in sympathy with the court party have striven in every succeeding age to make the Puritans seem hateful, and the most eloquent pages of these writers have been those in which they have sought to do honor to the magnanimity and the true manliness of the Puritan character. But, at the time, all that could be done by the Puritans to preserve the liberties of England seemed unavailing. Their leaders in parliament and in the church were fined and imprisoned, and forced to flee for their lives to the continent. Hope itself was almost dead.

It may assist us in the attempt to understand the condition of things in England at that time if we recall what was the state of feeling in the Northern States during the years preceding our civil war. Public sentiment here was almost unanimous as to the evils of slavery; but the slave power was so intrenched in the constitution of the United States that all effort to put limits to its increase seemed futile. It was always and everywhere aggressive. The Missouri Compromise had been followed by nullification in South Carolina, by the annexation of Texas, by war with Mexico, by the fugitive slave law, by the Nebraska bill, by the outrages in Kansas, by the Dred Scott decision, by legislation in favor of slavery. The claim was made at last that slave ownership should be protected throughout the whole national domain. Our whole



political life was affected by it. Too many of our ablest statesmen were so overawed by the slave interest that they feared to offer any resistance. Those who endeavored to stand up against it were ridiculed. Even the conscience of the nation seemed to be growing indifferent. The friends of liberty looked around with doubt and dismay. But it was vastly worse in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

After James came Charles I. and the ascendancy of Buckingham, the arrest and imprisonment and death of Sir John Eliot, the dissolution of parliament, the announcement of the king that he would rule without a parliament, the forbidding any one to even speak of a parliament ever being held again, the despotism of the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission, government by proclamation, forced loans, monopolies, feudal and forest extortions, ship money, the tenure of the judges made to depend on the king's pleasure, the Protestant cause on the continent openly abandoned, Tilly and Wallenstein carrying all before them in Germany.

What wonder that many of the Puritans began to question whether it was not better to leave England and find a new home beyond the ocean. At last a little band of colonists established themselves at Plymouth. Another and much more important colony was begun at Boston, and then a company of London merchants, with the Rev. John Davenport as their leader, conceived the idea of a new colony, of which this city to-day is the outgrowth.

It does not fall within the scope of this Address to give any account of the New Haven colony, or of the remarkable man who was its leader; yet I ask your indulgence—which I fear has already been too heavily taxed—while, very briefly, I remind you that John Davenport had conceived a plan of gov-

ernment far in advance of anything that had been attempted before; and in his attempts to carry out his conception, and protect the colony from all hostile interference from the government of the country which they had abandoned, he showed qualities of statesmanship for which he is to be ranked among the ablest men of his day. It has been claimed that the constitution which was framed in the cabin of the Mayflower marked a new epoch; but the men of Plymouth were not entirely disentangled from the old traditions. They acknowledged themselves to be still under English rule. They did not even desire to shake it off. They subscribed themselves "the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James;" and what they did they declared was done for the "honor of our King and country." The colonists who settled Massachusetts not only made no progress in theory upon the colony of Plymouth, but they did not go as far. They went out from England under English charters. Their claim to the rights which they asserted was founded, in their estimation, on the fact that they were free-born Englishmen. And it is questionable whether in England to this day civil rights are supposed to rest on anything more venerable or more sacred than the provisions of Magna Charta and the Common Law. The colonists, also, who settled the river towns on the Connecticut did not forget that they, too, were Englishmen. For months they supposed that they were within the patent of the old Massachusetts colony, and acted accordingly. Not so John Davenport and Governor Eaton. They formed their colony in London for the express purpose of carrying out new and peculiar views respecting human rights and civil government. They claimed that there were rights which were theirs, not because they were Englishmen, but because they were *men*. They fell back on the natural and inherent rights which belonged to them by virtue of their manhood. They had shaped their views into a well-digested plan. They were of the opinion that if they went

beyond the limits of any existing English government, they were free to expatriate themselves. And when they reached Boston, on their way to a new home, though they were invited and urged to remain there, they refused, and would not be drawn aside from their purpose by the great inducements which were offered. It was their plan to establish a State by mutual agreement, on Christian principles, beyond the reach of English authority, and without any reference of any kind whatever, express or implied, to the government of the king or to any of the institutions of their native land. Here was the first example of such a government on the American continent.

While speaking so briefly of this remarkable plan of theirs, so well considered, so much more far reaching than anything conceived of by either of the other colonies, I do not know that it will consist with the seriousness and dignity of the subject, or of the present occasion, to allude to the fact that it has been reserved for the present generation to advance a theory that the colonists who founded New Haven did not come here with any such high purpose, but came here only to trade. It is true that as sensible and practical men, knowing that a colony which is to be prosperous and enduring must have some means of support, and having been engaged in commerce at home, they naturally intended to go on with the occupation for which their previous pursuits had fitted them. What else could they do? They were not tillers of the soil. It could hardly be expected that such men would be satisfied to go so far without some plan for supporting themselves. There is no question that they planned to trade and build up here a commercial city. It would have been strange if they had not thought of some way to provide for their families and themselves. But if it is meant that those London merchants came here *principally* for purposes of gain, no state-

ment could be more preposterous. I hardly need to repeat that it was a time when the Anglo-Saxon love of freedom which had been growing stronger and deeper for two thousand years, had at last clashed with absolutism. The struggle which had begun was one to the death. All England was at a white heat on the subject of religion and free government. John Davenport was one of the marked men among the political and religious leaders of the time. During his exile in Holland, he had given much thought to the subject of "civil government," and he had elaborated original views with regard to it, which he afterwards published. To suppose that such a man as he, or Governor Eaton, came here in the early part of the reign of Charles I. to "make money," is under the circumstances even more absurd than to suppose that the honored champion of freedom,\* whose voice rang out from this pulpit so boldly for fifty years against American slavery, could have left New Haven just when the excitement preceding the Civil War was greatest, and gone to some one of the Aleutian Islands to make money by engaging in the seal fishery, and had carried with him the ablest of the men who had been accustomed to gather in this church from week to week, to listen to his preaching. The men who founded New Haven came here when Cromwell himself was debating the question whether it was not the wisest thing for the cause of English liberty to cross the ocean and build up a *new* "England." Among the New Haven men were some of his own kinsmen; and when the Protector had succeeded to power, he wrote to his old friends in this town, and invited them to return. Some of them did return. Letters were also sent to John Davenport, to Thomas Hooker of Hartford, and John Cotton of Boston, the three great leaders of the time in New England, "earnestly inviting them to return to their native country for a season, in order to assist in conducting to a happy

\* Rev. Leonard Bacon, D.D.

issue the great Revolution then in progress there." Do I need to say more than that this theory about John Davenport is too absurd for any serious answer?

Two hundred and fifty years have passed since that company of English Christians landed on these shores, and to-day we ask ourselves what has been the success of their enterprise. We know that after years of labor and discouragement, it seemed to them that they had failed. Their colony had been the wealthiest of all the colonies that had come to America. It seemed to have the fairest hopes of success. But disaster after disaster had befallen it. Yet as we look back to-day, we can see that they did succeed, and that their success has been greater than even their highest expectations. They hoped to build up a commercial city, and here is a city, which is, at least, half as large as what was known distinctively as the "City of London" at the time they left it. They wished to build up a State independent of English control, and the city they founded is a part of a sovereign State, which is one of the great powers of the world, with a much larger population than that of all the English islands combined. And certainly no city in the land did more to prepare the way for American independence, or give shape to the present government of the United States. Their leading idea was that the two great bulwarks of a State should be religion and universal education. This idea of theirs has also triumphed everywhere throughout the whole nation. An integral part of their plan was that the city they founded should be the seat of a university. The importance that John Davenport attached to this part of his plan, as it has always seemed to me, was owing in great measure to what he had seen in Leyden. During his residence there, he was a witness of the estimation in which its citizens held the famous university which had been granted to them by William

of Orange "with advice of the Estates," as "a reward for their sufferings, and as "a manifestation of the gratitude entertained by the people of Holland and Zeeland for their heroic defence of their city" against the Spaniards. It should not be forgotten, too, that John Davenport had the satisfaction before he died of believing that he had succeeded in this, and that he had laid the foundation of a college. Almost his last official act here was to draw up a paper in which he spoke of the college as "founded and begun." And although that institution never actually rose above the rank of a Grammar School, yet it is due to the memory of that remarkable man that his hopeful words should be remembered. He certainly was the pioneer who prepared the way for the University, whose influence has been felt throughout the world, of which his son-in-law, JAMES PIERPONT, who became his successor and the heir of his plans and hopes, was, not long after, the founder.

The estimate which I have now given of the Puritan character, I doubt not, is in the main in accordance with that of those of you who have thus far listened to me. Yet it is sometimes said, even by the admirers of the heroism of the Puritans, and of their loyalty to the cause of liberty and to the interests of religion, and who feel deeply the indebtedness to them of all the subsequent generations of English-speaking men and women, that after all they were not people whom one would like to live with! If there should be any one present who has ever entertained a feeling of this kind, I would ask him who there is among the very best men of former ages who have really done anything for their own generation, or for mankind, who would be an agreeable inmate of his home, under the changed conditions of life in the nineteenth century.

Is it not true that the generations as they succeed each other are each moulded by the experiences through which they have

had to pass? One generation can no more enter into the feelings and habits of the generations which have preceded, or conform to them, than a child can enter into the feelings of its parents and live its parents' life with any satisfaction. In addition, it is to be remembered that the men who have ever done anything of value for their generation or for the race have been forced to endure sacrifices and hardships, and in the terrible ordeal through which they have had to pass have necessarily acquired a fixedness of purpose, a sternness of manner, and an absorption of spirit, which accord ill with the ideas and habits of those whose lot has been cast in happier times. I do not think that Luther, or Augustine, or Chrysostom—I do not think that even any one of the evangelists or apostles themselves, with the habits of an oriental who lived two thousand years ago,—would be found to accommodate himself to our modes of life in such a way that we should find him to be a pleasant person to have in our houses. Or to take men of a different class, I do not think that there is any one, no matter how much he cares for rank or display, who could endure to have Charles II., or Louis XIV., or Lord Chesterfield, or Beau Brummell, or any man of fashion of any preceding age, as the constant companion of his days.

But I will not go so far back in history or to other lands. I will remind you of that one of our own countrymen to whom the heart of every American turns with greatest reverence and pride. No man of his time on this continent had greater advantages in his childhood and youth than Washington. He was carefully trained in literature, in manners, and in every manly accomplishment by a relative of his family, who had been a personal friend of Addison and a contributor to the *Spectator*, who had held a high social position in England as an English nobleman, who was in addition a Christian gentleman. At the beginning of the Revolution, when he was appointed general in chief of the American army, he was sup-



posed to be the richest man in America, and had always lived in a style which few could imitate. But eight years of the stern experiences of war made a change in the whole bearing of the handsome young officer who only a few years before had visited New England for the first time on horseback with a company of gay young friends, and the men of his own time who revered him—some of whom perhaps would have died for him—found him so reticent, so dignified, so stern, so absorbed, that all who approached him felt under restraint.

It must be so necessarily. Those who fight the great battles of life come out scarred, and wearied, and worn. Of one of the most accomplished men of our own time, who labored for the freedom of Italy, we read that after the failure of a certain enterprise which cost the lives of some of his dearest friends, he was never seen to smile. Of how many others do we read that even after success had crowned their labors, they themselves lived ever after under the shadow of some great grief. But who of the generations who will reap the fruits of their efforts will ask if they were pleasant people to live with?

I believe that the Puritans were naturally as genial as any class of Englishmen or Americans to-day. There were sour men among them, I doubt not, as there were among the party whom they opposed. Who could be more sour than Archbishop Laud? If you have any doubts, look at his portrait! Charles Kingsley says of one of his heroes: Did his being a Puritan "prevent his being six feet high? Were his shoulders the less broad for it, his cheek the less ruddy for it? He wore his flaxen hair of the same length that every one now wears theirs, instead of letting it hang half-way to his waist in essenced curls; but was he therefore the less of a viking's son, bold hearted as his sea-roving ancestors, who won the Danelagh by Canute's side? . . . He carried a Bible in his jack-boots; but did that prevent him, as Oliver rode past him with an approving smile on Naseby field, think-



ing himself a very handsome fellow, with his moustache and imperial, and bright red coat, and cuirass well polished, in spite of many a dint, as he sate his father's great black horse as gracefully and firmly as any long-locked and essenced cavalier in front of him? . . . No poetry in him as the long rapier swung round his head five minutes later, redder and redder at every sweep? We are befooled by names! Call him Crusader instead of Roundhead, and he seems at once (granting him only sincerity, which he had, and that of a right awful kind) as complete a knight-errant as ever watched and prayed, ere putting on his spurs, in fantastic Gothic chapel, 'beneath storied windows richly dight.' . . . No poetry in those old Puritans? Why not? They were men of like passions with ourselves. They loved, they married, they brought up children; they feared, they sinned, they sorrowed, they fought—they *conquered*! There was poetry enough in them, be sure—though they acted it like men instead of singing it like birds."

There was a time when it might possibly have been worth while to make some reference to the attempts of the enemies of the Puritans to excite prejudice against them by representing them as gloomy ascetics. It was gravely charged against them that they would not eat mince pies or plumb puddings on Christmas day! But the reply was that they ate them on other days; and every one knows now that the reason they did not eat them publicly at Christmas was, that to do so had, in the popular mind, a political significance. Just as in this country, not very long ago, many very cheerful people avoided wearing a white hat for fear that it might be supposed that they were publicly displaying their political sympathies for the presidential aspirations of Mr. Horace Greeley. It is not very long ago too, that, in some other parts of the United States, loyal men were unwilling to wear gray trowsers or butternut coats. Does any one believe that these people had

any religious objections to a white or a butternut color, or that they supposed that their Maker would be better pleased with them if they dressed themselves all over in regulation blue? Lord Macaulay once gave utterance to an ungenerous fling at the Puritans. He said that they opposed bear-baiting, not because they cared for the pain suffered by the bear, but because they begrudged the spectators the pleasure of the sport. He was answered speedily, that he had spoken more truly than he thought. The Puritans were opposed to bear-baiting because they knew that a people who could take pleasure in witnessing the torture to which a dumb animal was exposed, were a people who could not be trusted to maintain English liberty. But it is idle to treat seriously the misrepresentations and the abuse of this kind which has been heaped upon the Puritans.

Undoubtedly the men who were fined and imprisoned, the men who were forced to leave their native land and make a new home in the wilderness, did not escape some of the marks of the hard experiences through which they were obliged to pass. They bore honorable scars received in the battle they waged. It may be worth while then to see what description of men the founders of New Haven really were. Of Theophilus Eaton, the first Puritan Governor, Dr. Bacon said, as the result of his study of the public record of his services: "I have acquired new views of the dignity which belongs to the place of the civil magistrate." Hubbard, the historian of Massachusetts, who was one of his contemporaries, says: "This man had in him great gifts, and as many excellences as are usually found in any one man. He had an excellent princely face and port, commanding respect from all others. He was a good scholar, a traveler, a great reader; of an exceeding steady and even spirit, not easily moved to passion, and standing unshaken in his principles when once fixed upon; of a profound judgment, full of majesty and authority in his judicatures, so

that it was a vain thing to offer to brave him out; and yet in his ordinary conversation, and among friends, of such pleasantness of behavior and such felicity and fecundity of harmless wit as can hardly be paralleled." Mather declares of him that "for a score of years he was the glory and pillar of New Haven colony." He says of him: "He carried in his very countenance a majesty which cannot be described; and in his dispensations of justice, he was a mirror for the most imitable impartiality but ungainsayable authority of his proceedings, being awfully sensible of the obligations which the oath of a judge lays upon him. Hence he who would most patiently bear hard things offered to his person in private cases, would never pass by any public affronts or neglects, when he appeared under the character of a magistrate. But he still was the guide of the blind, the staff of the lame, the helper of the widow and orphan, and all the distressed. None that had a good cause was afraid of coming before him." The same writer describes him also as he appeared at home: "As in his government of the commonwealth, so in the government of his family, he was prudent, serious, happy to a wonder; and albeit he sometimes had a large family, consisting of no less than thirty persons, yet he managed them with such an even temper, that observers have affirmed they never saw a house ordered with more wisdom." "He kept an honorable and hospitable table." "He countenanced the addresses unto himself of the children and servants with any of their inquiries." And we find still another witness in one who had been a servant in his family, whose beautiful testimony reminds us of what that ablest of all modern English critics, so gifted with the power of insight—Samuel Taylor Coleridge—said respecting the character of Falconbridge, in "King John," and the inferences he drew respecting his courtesy and chivalrous spirit, from the affectionate language of the reply addressed to

him by his old servant, "James Gurney." Falconbridge requests him to withdraw, saying,

"James Gurney, wilt thou give us leave awhile?"

And the answer is,

"Good leave, good Philip."

To which Falconbridge replies,

"James,  
There's toys abroad. Anon I'll tell thee more."

This other New Haven servant could say, many years after his master's death: "Whatever difficulty in my daily walk I now meet withal, still something that I either saw or heard in my blessed master Eaton's conversation, helped me through it all."

But it is not now a question of living with Theophilus Eaton, or with the founders of New Haven, or even with any of the Puritans, but what did those men do in their day and generation; and what did they accomplish? It is enough to say that when a dynasty which can hardly be called English, put forth claims to a right to dispose absolutely of the persons and property of our ancestors, they set themselves in opposition, and, whether we should like to live with them or not, they saved the liberties of England, and have moulded the character of all the generations which have followed—in England as well as in America—to a far greater extent than is generally supposed.

There are crises in the history of all nations when the old race characteristics are either intensified or greatly modified. You are aware that among the theories which have been proposed by those who have advocated the doctrine of evolution, one of the most ingenious is that at certain intervals during the countless aeons of the world's early his-

tory, there has been, for some reason, a sudden and astonishing development in living organisms, "*per saltum*" as it has been called, or by a leap. The theory is that ages have passed in which the different species have remained substantially the same, till they have come at last perhaps under the influence of some new force, when a change has been made "*per saltum*," or at once, the effect of which has been perceptible ever after in their organization. Whatever may be true in the domain of natural science, it is certainly true in human life, and in the history of nations. I need go no further than to our Civil War for an illustration, though it is on a comparatively very limited scale. The terrible experiences of those four years produced an effect on the spirit of the whole American people which will be felt in their political action for centuries. The same thing is true, on a still smaller scale, in the life of every individual man. This is too obvious to need illustration.

Now the Puritan age was one of those crises in the history of the English people, when, as the historians tell us, a definite change was made in the English character. But the Puritans who came to this country, in addition to all the experiences through which they passed in England, endured such hardships here, made such sacrifices, and struggled with such new conditions of life, that among the people of this branch of the Anglo-Saxon family many very marked modifications were brought about in our characteristics as a people. There are more of these than I have time to speak of on the present occasion. I shall be obliged to pass by several that I consider of even more importance than those I mention. I will confine myself to a very few.

It seems to me that that age was so peculiarly an age of unselfish work for the good of others, and particularly for the

good of the succeeding ages, that its effects are to be seen in every descendant of the Puritans, whether he maintains the Puritan faith or not. I am not speaking of the underlying race characteristic of loyalty to duty. No Anglo-Saxon is without that feeling. When Nelson hung out his signal at Trafalgar: "England expects every man to do his duty," he knew that the heart of every cabin boy in the fleet would respond and that he would be roused to do his best. No Anglo-Saxon, however far he may have wandered from the right, but will at least try to convince himself that he is still loyal to duty, in order that he may maintain his own self-respect. I do not refer therefore to this characteristic, or even to that other characteristic of working for the mere sake of satisfying the desire to be employed about something.

Some years ago I accompanied a gentleman who belonged to one of the Latin races, to the library of the Yale Theological School. On entering, my companion went at once and stood before a painting that hangs on the walls which represents two children, descendants, I may be excused for saying, of one of the original founders of this town. After looking at the picture for some time, he said: "By no possibility could any one suppose that those children were of any Latin race." I asked him his reason. After a moment's reflection, he said: "the Latins are always looking within themselves and thinking how they appear to other people. The Anglo-Saxons, forgetful of themselves, look out on the world to see what they can do in it." That this is measurably true has just been recognized in an interesting way by Father Hecker, one of the most accomplished of the Paulist Fathers in New York. In a book, published within the present year, he undertakes to give a philosophical explanation of the fact that the Protestant nations have exerted more influence in the world than the Roman Catholic nations. I quote from his book with no idea of controversy, but in the same liberal spirit in which he

writes. The question is simply one of fact. Father Hecker declares that the race characteristic of the Latins is a disposition to submit to authority, and he says the Roman Catholic church has made the mistake of devoting its effort to strengthening this race characteristic which was already sufficiently strong, and has tried to resist rather than develop among the Latins independent action. It has sought to encourage the passive virtues, rather than the active. On the other hand, he says, the race characteristic of the Teutonic nations is personal independence, and an eagerness for action, and Protestantism has developed still further this race characteristic, already so strong, and has directed it especially against the authority of the church. Here, he says, is the explanation of the fact that "fifty millions of Protestants" have so long exerted and still exert a more controlling influence over the movements and destinies of nations than "two hundred millions of Catholics."

Now this predisposition among all Teutonic races to be on the lookout for something to do, and something to work for, has been modified in this country among the descendants of the Puritans by the experiences through which their ancestors passed. It has been expanded and diverted from mere selfish ends, and directed towards the good of others, and especially the good of succeeding generations. The aim which the Puritan proposed to himself as a practical object of life has been expressed by the poet in the "Golden Legend." "Let all men's good be each man's rule." No descendant of the Puritans, of any religious denomination, or even though he be without Christian faith, but feels it to be a natural instinct, in imitation of the example of his ancestors, to labor in some way for the public good, and especially for those who are to come after him. It is the very nature of the descendants of the Puritans to be public spirited and to plan for the generations that are yet unborn.

We owe also to the Puritans the estimate which is placed in this country on manhood. The Anglo-Saxons were always characterized by high ideas of personal independence. But a new conception was joined with those ideas for the first time by the men who took the Bible for the rule of their conduct, and sought to make their lives correspond to its teachings. It was because the Bible taught them that all men are equally the objects of the special care of God, and that all men are brothers in Christ, that the whole conception of the respect that is due from man to man was changed, and no Puritan was so high in rank that he did not recognize a spiritual equality in the humblest Christian. Of a Puritan of that period it was said as something new: "He never disdained the meanest, nor flattered the greatest." "He had a loving and sweet courtesy for the poorest." No descendant of the men who settled Plymouth, Boston, or New Haven, is worthy of his ancestry, of whom this is not true to-day.

But perhaps more important still was the new self-respect that was taught those who belonged to the humbler classes of society. Nehemiah Wallington has given a beautiful sketch of his mother, who was the wife of a London Puritan mechanic. He says: "She was very loving and obedient to her parents, loving and kind to her husband, very tender-hearted to her children, loving all that was holy, much misliking the wicked and profane. She was a pattern of sobriety unto many, very seldom seen abroad except at church. When others recreated themselves at holidays and other times, she would take her needle-work and say, 'here is my recreation.' God had given her a pregnant wit and an excellent memory. She was very ripe and perfect in all stories of the Bible, likewise in all the stories of the martyrs, and could readily turn to them. She was also perfect and well seen in the English chronicles and in the descendants of the Kings of England. She lived in



holy wedlock with her husband twenty years, wanting but four days."

This was the kind of respect for manhood which grew up in New England, and if any where in this land, or in the wide world, there is a human being who has been cheered in his lowly condition by knowing that there is one country where it has ever been an acknowledged fact that "a man is a man for all that," let him thank the Puritans, who learned it from the Bible, and made it here a reality. It is owing to them that no American "kowtows" to any one—and that there is no true American who wishes to have any one "kowtow" to him.

The Puritans also gave to the world a new idea of what it is to be a gentleman. With the views respecting manhood which they received from the Bible, they conceived a new idea as to what is the proper way to treat others. Polished manners and a gracious deportment to one's equals is not enough, according to the Puritan ideal. A man may smile and smile and be a villain. There should be such delicacy of perception of the rights and feelings of others as to lead a person not only to avoid giving offense to any, high or low, but this perception should be accompanied by such a treatment of all as reveals a friendly feeling. This idea of a gentleman did not exist before the time of the Puritans. I do not say that there were not persons who had such a character. But Shakespeare uses the word "gentleman" more than five hundred times, and not once to designate anything more than a person of high social position.

A man who is habitually thoughtless of the feelings of his inferiors is not a gentleman according to the Puritan idea. One of the most eloquent of English essayists of modern times, Rev. Charles Kingsley, a dignitary of the Anglican church, says that "The Puritan and not the cavalier conception of

what a British gentleman should be is the one accepted by the whole British nation at this day." And yet it is unquestionable that in this country, among gentlemen, there is a distinct quality perceptible, which has come to us from our Puritan ancestors, which is higher and nobler than anything that is common in England. I do not doubt that there are thousands of persons in England who are gentlemen in the Puritan sense of the term. It is also very probable that in that country there is a much larger number of men than in this country who possess polish of manner and high culture of every kind. But it is not intended as any disrespect to English gentlemen when I say that there is an element of what in this country we should call rudeness in the way in which English gentlemen habitually disregard all the prepossessions and tastes of even their equals with whom they come in contact, and exhibit a calm assumption of superiority, which to an American is simply ludicrous. Mr. Richard Grant White, who carried his admiration of everything English to such an extent that his name alone in this connection almost provokes a smile, felt obliged to devote a chapter in his book on England to this marked English trait. While Englishmen are respected the world over, every one knows that they are also, as a nation, intensely disliked the world over, for their want of tact, and their disregard of the feelings of others. What I refer to may be illustrated by an anecdote which was told some years ago of one of the most prominent of British statesmen then living. He bore an ancestral name which itself was a guarantee that he had always enjoyed every social advantage. Being in the country, at the house of a friend, he was invited to address a political meeting in a neighboring town. He drove over to the public hall, where he found at the door a crowd of villagers ready to give him welcome. As he descended from the carriage a shout went up, in which the voice of a certain brawny ploughman was very conspicuous, who was swinging

his hat with all enthusiasm. The "noble lord" fixed his eye sternly upon this man, and addressed him with the not very gracious and very peremptory order: "You fellow, stop your bawling!"

A former citizen of New Haven, still highly honored here, who lived for many years in Germany, visited the city of Thorn for the purpose of being present on an important anniversary occasion. He said that he found in the morning, in the crowded breakfast-room of the hotel, such an assemblage of German statesmen and German scholars as was rarely to be met. It chanced that an English ambassador on his way to Constantinople from London to attend a conference of the Great Powers had arrived the evening before, and coming down to breakfast found some difficulty in getting a seat for himself and his party. Standing in the middle of the room, with a loud voice, he gave utterance to some very uncalled for and contemptuous remarks about the want of politeness and the coarse manners of the German people. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, who heard him, said that though the English ambassador spoke in English and to his own friends, he was heard and perfectly understood by every one in the room, and what he said could hardly have been a more public affront to the best men in Germany if it had been said in the Reichstag itself.

Now in the United States, with all our faults, there has come to us directly from the Puritans, a gentleness and a genuine kindness of manner, and a respect for even the prejudices of others, which is constantly remarked by Englishmen themselves who have been in this country.

Mr. James Russell Lowell, in his recent volume of poems, in the tribute which he pays to his friend Professor Agassiz, well describes the Puritan idea of a gentleman. It may be considered to be the recognition by an American descendant of

the Puritans of the same qualities which marked a descendant of the Swiss Puritans.

He was so human ! Neither strong or weak,  
 Far from his kind he neither sank nor soared,  
 But sate an equal guest at every board.  
 No beggar ever felt him condescend,  
 No prince presume ; for still himself he bare  
 At manhood's simple level, and where'er  
 He met a stranger, there he left a friend.

One other characteristic has been stamped by the Puritans on the whole American people—a peculiar respect for woman. I quote from one of the latest of the English historians, who says that even in England a new conception of womanhood was developed by them. He says expressly, in so many words, that “Home as we conceive it now, was the creation of the Puritans.” “Wife and child rose from mere dependents on the will of husband or father, as husband or father saw in them saints like himself, souls hallowed by the touch of a divine spirit, and called with a divine calling like his own. The sense of spiritual fellowship gave a new tenderness and refinement to the common family affections.” This feeling also was intensified in this country, and the respect with which woman has in consequence ever been treated here is known the world over. A deference is manifested to her which is accorded to her nowhere else. The American woman of all others may well join in grateful acknowledgments to her Puritan ancestry.



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